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AUTHOR Zohoori, Ali R.
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ABSTRACT

A study using a cross-sectional survey technique compared the uses of American television by 276 native American and 83 nonnative American children. Uses of American television were defined in terms of motivation for television viewing, preference for television programs, patterns of exposure to television, identification with television characters, and perceived reality of television characters and events. Bivariate statistical techniques were used to analyze the data. Results showed that compared to native American Children, non-native American children (1) used American television more for learning about themselves and others as well as for social interaction purposes, (2) showed more interested in watching television programs in general and educational and adventure programs in particular, (3) identified more frequently with television characters, and (4) expressed stronger belief in television characters and events. References and data tables are appended. (HOD)

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International Division

An Integrative Cross-Cultural Examination of Children's Use of Television

By

Ali R. Zohoori
Speech Communication and Theatre Department
State University College
Oneonta, NY 13820

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An Integrative Cross-Cultural Examination of Children's Uses of Television

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Ali R. Zohoori
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Abstract

In an attempt to integrate the theories of acculturation to the perspective of mass media uses and gratifications, this study compared uses of American television by native American and non-native American children.

Uses of American television was defined in terms of motivations for television viewing, preference for television programs, patterns of exposure to television, identification with television characters, and perceived reality of television characters and events.

A cross-sectional survey technique was utilized. Eighty-three non-native American children and 276 native American children participated in this study.

Bivariate statistical techniques were employed to analyze the data. Compared with native American children, non-native American children: (a) used American television more for learning about themselves and others as well as for social interaction purposes, (b) were more interested in watching television programs in general and educational and adventure programs in particular, (c) identified more frequently with television characters, and (d) expressed stronger belief in the reality of television characters and events.

In sum, a large number of significant differences emerged in the predicted direction between the two groups of children; non-native American children tended to be different than native American children in their uses of American television. Therefore, this study successfully integrated the theories of acculturation to the uses of television by children and demonstrated the impact of cultural differences upon such uses. Moreover, the results of this study call for a broader cross-cultural examination and cross-cultural validity of motivation clusters used in this study and previous works on children's uses of television.

An Integrative Cross-Cultural Examination of Children's Uses of Television

Primarily, this study is an "integrative" attempt, as Rosengren (1985) has called for, to link the perspective of uses and gratifications of mass media to the theories of acculturation. This study is also a response to a continuing call for cross-cultural analyses of the mass media uses and gratifications (e.g., Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1974, Blumler, Gurevitch,& Katz, 1985).

One of the most salient needs of immigrants is to adapt to the host culture (Lee, 1975; Berry, 1980). Such an adaptation requires, among other things, communication skills for establishing meaningful social interaction with the inhabitants of the new culture as well as acquiring information about the norms and behavioral patterns of the host culture. A major component of communication for adaptation and one of the main sources of information about the host culture is the mass media of that culture (Kim, 1982). Newcomers may use the mass media of their host culture for social integration purposes, while the inhabitants of that culture may have other reasons for using the mass media. In that light, this study attempts to integrate theories of acculturation (e.g., Dohrenwend & Smith, 1962; Berry, 1980) with the uses of American television by native American and non-native American children who reside in the United States.

As Blumler and his colleagues have lucidly pointed out, "Most uses and gratifications research is culturally blinkered, because it is confined to single societies. It therefore cannot distinguish those features of audience-media relationships that transcend national boundaries from those that are country-specific." (1985: 267-268). Interestingly, the number of countries involved in the uses and gratifications research has been limited to England, Sweden, Israel, United States, Canada and Japan (Rosengren, 1985). There is an urgent need for more culturally diversed studies of uses and gratifications. This study, then, compares the uses of American television among native American

children and children of non-Anglo-American cultures.

Background

Redfield, Linton and Herskovits conceptualized acculturation by maintaining that "... acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous firsthand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of their or both groups." (1936: 149) Further, Redfield and his colleagues considered acculturation as one aspect of the broader phenomenon "cultural change." The authors speculated that once an individual enters a new cultural context, he/she feels isolated from social life due to the lack of necessary cognitive, affective and behavioral skills amenable to the demands of the new environment. Over time, however, the intensity of such isolation would decrease as social contact increased. Whether acculturation is a process or an end product of cultural change, it is likely to consist of series of stages or phases. Indeed, a multitude of schema for the stages of acculturation have been suggested by different scholars (e.g., Dohrenwend & Smith, 1962; Berry, 1980). There is no consensus among scholars, however, with respect to the number, rate or length of stages involved in the acculturation process.

Communication scholars interested in acculturation have examined the communication process in the adjustment of newcomers to a new country. From the perspective of the communication researcher, communication plays a potentially essential role in the rate and quality of acculturation. For example, Kim (1982) regarded an individual's exposure to the cultural patterns and language of the host society via the mass media or through interpersonal communication prior to migration as a critical factor in his/her acculturation. Likewise, once in the host culture, the amount of interaction with members of the host culture as well as the frequency of exposure to the mass media were seen as influencing the success of his/her adjustment into the culture. Indeed, Kim pointed out that the

acculturation function of the mass media would be particularly significant during the initial stage of acculturation; at that time the immigrant often lacks even the minimal competence needed to establish satisfactory interpersonal relationships with members of the host culture.

Acculturation theorists stress a period of social isolation among individuals who are in a new cultural environment. The uses and gratifications perspective (e.g., Katz & Foulkes, 1962; McGuire, 1974) suggests that isolated individuals may rely more on and make more uses of the mass media than those socially integrated. When combining the two perspectives, it seems reasonable to expect that non-native American children residing in the United States would rely more on as well as make more uses of (e.g., for escape as well as for information leading to integration) American television. However, as the acculturation process advances toward adaptation, their reliance and uses of American television would be expected to diminish. Restated, non-native American children would be expected to be heavily dependent on and make greater use of American television during their early experience with American culture. This would be due to the social isolation of these children, itself caused by their unfamiliarity with American norms as well as the English language. However, as non-native Americans become more acculturated and integrated into American society, they ought to become less dependent as well as more critical of the medium (e.g., less likely to believe TV presentations reflect American society).

The uses and gratifications perspective suggests that the social and psychological origins of audiences' needs underline their expectations of and their consequent uses of mass media as well as gratifications sought from such uses (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1974). This perspective relies on the social structure in which audiences interact with media content in order to satisfy their needs. The extent to which members of the mass media audience share the same social values and norms, language, and other societal components is a determinant of motivations for and uses of the mass media. Consequently, members of different cultures are expected to have distinct functional orienta-

tions toward the media (Stroman & Becker, 1978).

Cross-cultural studies of the uses and gratifications perspective have examined the use of television by children of different cultures (e.g., Furu, 1971; Greenberg, 1974; Rubin, 1977). Although these studies have indicated some differences in motivations for watching television among children of different cultures, there is no information available about the uses of the mass media by children who are in a new cultural context.

Therefore, one can presume that, for example, in this country although non-native American children may share some of the social and psychological origins of needs for using American television with their native American counterparts, their needs for social integration into American culture and into their American peer group should lead them to establish a set of distinct motivations for watching television. These children may turn to television to learn the English language in order to establish communication with American peers. They may use American television as a readily available and easily comprehensible source of information about the American way of life.

Further, differences in the social and psychological origins of motivations for watching television between native American children and their non-native American counterparts may lead to differences in: (1) the extent to which they like television programs; (2) their patterns of exposure to television; (3) the extent to which they identify with television characters; and (4) their perceived reality of television characters and events.

On the basis of the literature reviewed, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H1. Overall, non-native American children residing in the United States use American television differently from native American children.

Specifically, compared with native American children, non-native American children will:

a. use American television more as a source of information about and interaction with others, and as a means of diversion from their social isolation;
b. are more interested in watching American television programs;
c. spend more time watching American television;
d. identify more with American television characters; and

e. believe more in the reality of American television characters and events.

Methods

Sample: Cross-sectional survey data were gathered from the first through fifth grade students attending one public school in a major university community in the Midwest. The school was selected because it had the largest enrollment of non-native American children in the area. There were 90 non-native American children enrolled in that school when this survey was conducted. Seven of these children participated in a pilot test of the questionnaire. The remaining 83 participated in the survey reported here. A total of 276 native American classmates of the non-native American children were surveyed as well.

A note of caution is warranted with respect to the selected sampling method. Inaccessibility to a large sample size of non-native American children due to their geographical dispersion led to the use of the purposive sampling method. Therefore, limitations of this method, including its lack of representativeness, are acknowledged.

The non-native American children surveyed were from 33 different countries in Africa, Europe, the Middle East, South and East Asia and Central America. These children varied considerably in how long they had been in America; 15 percent had been here for less than six months, 27 percent between six and 18 months, 32 percent between 19 and 54 months and 26 percent more than 54 months. Although non-native American children in this study were not perceived of as a culturally homogeneous group, they all shared the same acculturation problem--being in a non-native/new cultural context. There were slightly more boys than girls although both genders were proportionately distributed across age groups. More than half were between six and eight years old.

Interestingly, the proportions of the gender and age attributes of the native American children surveyed were very similar to those of their non-native American counterparts. Table 1 presents the demographic data related to both the

native American and non-native American children surveyed.

Insert Table 1 about here

Procedure: Data collection started on Tuesday of each week; Mondays were excluded in order to prevent television exposure differences based on weekday versus weekend viewing.

Undergraduate students trained for the specifics of this task served as interviewers and monitors for the survey. First grade children were interviewed individually out of class in a comfortable room. Second through fifth grade children were given self-administered questionnaires to fill out in their classrooms.

The average face-to-face interview for the first graders took about 30 minutes to administer. The second and third graders needed about 40 minutes to answer the questions; fourth and fifth graders needed about 20 minutes to fill out their questionnaires.

Development of the Instrument: Based on the hypothese and observations of responses to questions during the pilot test (using 20 native American children and seven non-native American children), eight different versions of the questionnaire were designed. Each version pertained to a specific subsample of children based on their nationality, gender and grade.

Operationalization of the Variables: Non-native American children were defined as those whose parents were not permanent residents or citizens of the United States; native American children were defined as those whose parents were American citizens.

Uses of American television were defined in terms of (1) motivations for watching television programs, (2) liking of television programs, (3) patterns of exposure to television, (4) identification with television characters and (5)

perceived reality of television characters and events.

Motivation items used were based on the works of Greenberg (1974), Rubin (1977) and Palmgreen, Wenner and Rayburn (1980). These studies and a few others (e.g., Greenberg & Dominick, 1969; Rubin, 1979, 1981) have demonstrated a consistent pattern of clustering motivation items used in the present study. Thus, the validity and reliability of these items have already been established. Eleven items were assessed; these represented five more general clusters of motivations (learning about others, learning about own self, social interaction, companionship and escape). Motivations were measured by asking each child if the item was "a lot like," "a little like" or "not at all like" their reason for watching television. Items within each cluster were summed and averaged to create an index. The Cronbach's Reliability Coefficients of the overall motive indices for native and non-native American children were .75 and .72, respectively.

Liking of television programs was assessed using 29 shows; each had a current rating of at least 10 among children residing in the nearest metropolitan market surveyed by Nielsen (1981). For each program, children were asked "Do you like to watch _____ a lot, a little, not at all or don't know?" Four clusters of programs were formed-- Educational/Informational, Children's, Adventure and Other. The first three clusters were consistent with the Nielsen clustering of television programs (Nielsen, 1981). An overall index of liking television programs was formed by summing across the raw scores and obtaining the mean value for each of the items answered for each respondent. The Cronbach's Reliability Coefficients for native and non-native American children's overall liking indices were .86 and .90, respectively.

Television exposure patterns were defined in terms of the number of hours each child indicated watching television on the average weekday and weekend day as well as on the day prior to the survey. A list of television programs broadcasted the previous day was inserted into each questionnaire; each child circled those programs he/she watched. Exposure patterns for the previous morning,

afternoon and evening were computed based on the length of each of the programs watched. The more general weekday viewing patterns were assessed by asking for hours of viewing before school, after school and after supper. Similarly, weekend viewing patterns were assessed by focusing on weekend morning and afternoon viewing. Overall exposure indices for the previous day, daily viewing and weekend viewing were generated by adding the scores of each respondent for each viewing time category.

Identification with thirteen television characters of different genders, ages and popularity was assessed. Here, children were asked "When you grow up, how much would you like to be like _____?" Response choices were "a lot," "a little" and "not at all." One of the thirteen characters varied across ages; while second through fifth graders reacted to Willis of "diff'rent Strokes," first graders reacted to Willis' younger brother Arnold. (This difference was based on the evidence that younger children usually identify with characters of their own age [e.g., Fielitzen and Linne, 1976].) An identification index was formed by summing and averaging each respondent's scores for the thirteen identification items. The Cronbach's Reliability Coefficients for native and non-native American children's identification indices were .85 and .83, respectively.

Finally, perceived reality was assessed with five measures of television characters and events. Here, children were asked to indicate how much the animals, people, places and events seen on television were like those seen in real life. Response choices were "a lot," "a little" and "not at all." The raw scores for the five perceived reality items were summed and averaged to generate a perceived reality index. The Cronbach's Reliability Coefficients for native and non-native American children's perceived reality indices were .65 and .69, respectively.

Results

One-tailed Student's t-Tests and Chi-Square Tests were used to assess dif-

ferences in the use of television by native American and non-native American children as predicted in the developed hypotheses.

Motivations for Watching Television. Generally, both native and non-native American children tended to use American television equally for escape. However, non-native American children tended to use American television more for learning about themselves and others and interacting with others than for companionship and escaping from their problems. Both groups of children were moderately motivated to use American television for learning, social interaction, companionship, and escape (See Table 2).

Insert Table 2 about here

Compared with native American children, non-native American children appeared to use television more for: getting to know all about different people ($M = 2.20$ & $M = 2.39$, $t = -1.7$, $p<.05$); watching with friends when they come to the respondent's house ($M = 1.88$ & $M = 2.07$, $t = -2.40$, $p<.05$); learning how to act with their friends ($M = 1.76$ & $M = 2.25$, $t = -4.16$, $p<.05$); learning from the mistakes of other people ($M = 1.78$ & $M = 2.17$, $t = -3.13$, $p<.05$); and learning about things they don't learn at school ($M = 1.94$ & $M = 2.16$, $t = -1.95$, $p< .05$).

In contrast to their native American counterparts, the non-native American children seemed to use American television significantly more as a source of information about themselves and others as well as a source of interaction with others. They also turned to television somewhat more for companionship purposes, although the differences were not significant.

All these differences were as predicted. As such, Hypothesis H1.a appeared to be supported.

Liking of Television Programs. Respondents in this sample seemed to prefer

children's and adventure programs over other programs. Native American children's favorite programs were "Diff'rent Strokes," "Dukes of Hazzard," and movies; non-native American children's favorite shows were "Dukes of Hazzard," "CHiPs," and "Brady Bunch." The soap opera,"Days of Our Lives," was the least favored program by the two groups (See Table 3).

Insert Table 3 about here

Compared with native American children, non-native American children expressed more liking of educational-informational programs ($M = 1.83$ & $M = 2.05$, $t = -1.89$, $p < .05$); and adventure programs ($M = 2.25$ & $M = 2.60$, $t = -3.60$, $p < .05$).

Out of five programs in the educational-informational category, "Sesame Street," "Mister Roger's Neighborhood," "Hollywood Squares," and "Family Feud" showed significant differences in the predicted direction between the two groups of children. In the children's programs category, non-native American children liked the "Brady Bunch" and "Bugs Bunny/Road Runner" more than native American children. Native American children were more likely to like "Diff'rent Strokes." Non-native American children also were more interested in watching "CHiPs," "Rockford Files," "The Incredible Hulk," and "Gunsmoke" than were native American children.

Non-native American children's incremental liking of educational-informational and adventure programs provided strong support for Hypothesis H1.b, although preferences for children's programs did not. Differences for the programming group "Other" also could be viewed as lending support for Hypothesis H1.b. Compared with native American children, non-native American children seemed to be more interested in American television programs in general.

Overall, then, the liking items provided clear support for Hypothesis H1.b.

Patterns of Exposure to American Television. Generally, both native and non-native American children watched an average of 15 minutes television before school, one hour and 10 minutes after school, and the same amount after supper. The average amount of television viewing for native American children was two hours and 45 minutes and for non-native American children two hours and 20 minutes. Both groups of children watched a little more television on weekends, averaging two hours and 50 minutes per day. Both groups watched more during the morning on weekends than during the afternoon (See Table 4).

Insert Table 4 about here

A larger number of non- native American children watched television the day before the survey (93 percent versus 83 percent, $X^2 = 3.99$, $p < .05$). They also spent more time watching television during the morning and afternoon that day ($M = .85$ & $M = .49$, $t = 1.82$; $M = 3.54$ & $M = 2.69$, $t = 2.60$; $p < .05$, respectively).

The daily and weekend exposure indices indicated a slightly (although not significantly) higher frequency of exposure among native American children.

Overall, the data for the pattern of exposure to television did not provide clear support for Hypothesis H1.c.

Identification with Television Characters. Generally, both native American and non-native American children appeared to moderately identify with American television characters. Bo from "Dukes of Hazzard", the Hulk from "The Incredible Hulk" and Tarzan from "Tarzan of the Apes" were the characters with whom non-native American children identified most. Native American children identified most with Fonzie from "Happy Days" and Willis/Arnold from "Diff'rent Strokes." Both groups of children identified least with Sanford from "Sanford

and Son" (See Table 5).

Insert Table 5 about here

In 10 out of 13 comparisons, non-native American children seemed to identify significantly more with American television characters than did native American children. The overall identification indices showed a statistically significant difference between the two groups of children ($M = 1.70$ & $\underline{M} = 1.92$, $t = -2.05$; $p < .05$, respectively). Overall, then, Hypothesis H1.d received clear and strong support from the data.

Perceived Reality of Television. Both native and non-native American children expressed moderate belief in the reality of American television people, places, children, animals, and events. Both groups of children appeared to believe most strongly in the reality of television animals and least strongly in the reality of things that happen to people on television (See Table 6).

Insert Table 6 about here

Non-native American children were more likely to believe in the reality of television people, children, and events, than did native American children. The differences in the other two items, places and animals, were in the predicted direction, but not statistically significant.

Overall, the difference between the two groups was statisically significant ($M = 1.94$ & $\underline{M} = 2.19$, $t = -2.40$; $p < .05$). Therefore, Hypothesis H1.e received general support. Compared with native American children, non-native American children seemed to believe more strongly in the reality of American television

characters and events.

In sum, a large number of significant differences emerged in the predicted direction between the two groups of children; non- native American children tended to be different than native American children in their uses of American television. These data, then, provided support for Hypothesis 1.

Discussion

This study attempted to ascertain differences in the uses of American television by native and non-native American children residing in the United States. A set of hypotheses was proposed regarding differences in the uses of television by the two groups of children. Bivariate statistical techniques were employed to test the proposed hypotheses.

Based on the literature of uses and gratifications, it was assumed that non-native American children, by being in a new cultural environment, would have needs different from those of native American children. Consequently, they would use American television for different reasons and in different ways. Tests for the main hypothesis generally supported the overall prediction that non-native American children use American television differently than native American children. Out of the five specific subhypotheses addressing these differences, three were clearly supported, (H1.b, H1.d, and H1.e), one received partial support (H1.a), and one was not supported (H1.c).

Hypothesis H1.a predicted that non-native American children would use American television more as a source of information about and interaction with others as well as a means of escape from their social isolation. Non-native American children tended to use American television more for learning about themselves and others as well as for interacting with others. However, differences between the non-native and native groups in their uses of American television as a means of companionship and escape from one's problems, including one's social isolation, were not significant.

Thus, the first part of Hypothesis H1.a received clear support while the second part did not. Until non-native American children take command of the English language and become more acculturated to American society, American television appears to be a source of education and information about the American way of life. One explanation may account for the lack of support for the second part of Hypothesis H1.a. Although non-native American children might be socially isolated during their initial stage of the acculturation process, close family ties as well as linkages with similar others in the new cultural environment may alleviate the social isolation of these children. The acculturation literature already has indicated the compensatory role of affiliation with one's own cultural group during the social estrangement stage of acculturation process (e.g., Lee, 1975, Kim, 1976). Thus, non-native American children may not have a need to use American television as a means of escape. Furthermore, in elaborating on the uses of the mass media as escape, Katz and Foulkes (1962) have contended that other needs of the socially isolated individuals might interweave with their drive to use television for escape from social adjustment problems. In the case of non-native American children, their needs for attaining information from American television may override their needs for companionship and escape.

Hypothesis H1.b predicted that non-native American children would be more interested in watching American television programs in general than their native American counterparts. This hypothesis received support. In addition to having access to alternative sources of information, native American children are already socialized to the American cultural values and norms. On the other side, in addition to the novelty effect, non-native American children should be more interested in watching American television since it represents to them a readily available as well as entertaining source of American culture.

Although non-native American children generally were more likely to be interested in television than were their native American counterparts, the results were not as dramatic as expected-- American children also seemed quite

interested in television. Regardless of cultural differences, children appear to generally react positively to children's television programs.

Hypothesis H1.c predicted greater exposure to television among non-native American children. It was not supported. Here, an interesting contradiction emerges. Although non-native American children were more strongly motivated to watch American television, appeared to like watching television more, identified more with American television characters, and believed more strongly in the reality of American television, they did not watch significantly more television than did their native American counterparts. One explanation for this is that non-native American children were less habituated to television viewing than were their native American counterparts. Another explanation is that both groups watched as much television as their schedules permitted so no significant differences could emerged.

As Hypothesis H1.d predicted, non-native American children appeared to identify more with American television characters than did native American children. Support for this hypothesis was strong. This was expected since: (1) these children were more interested in watching American television programs; (2) American television characters probably were among the first "Americans" these children were closely introduced to; (3) these children could easily and vicariously interact with these characters and thus experience an indirect interaction with Americans.

Finally, Hypothesis H1.e predicted that non-native American children's perceived reality of television characters and events would be stronger than native American children's. Support was found for three of the five items. The results for Hypothesis H1.e generally were in line with the extant literature. Television's impact in cultivating social reality in the mind of its audience, particularly children, has been documented (Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Greenberg & Reeves, 1976; Rubin, 1979). This impact is more salient when the audience does not have access to alternative sources of information, lacks sufficient real life experience, and watches television heavily. Such would be the case with non-

native American children.

Collectively, these tests lent support for the main hypothesis. Compared with native American children, non-native American children were differently motivated to watch American television, liked watching it more, identified more with American television characters and perceived television portrayals to be more realistic.

This study suggests novel social situations, in this case the American cultural context, influence media-related needs as well as the ways in which people use the mass media. This is in accord with the dominant paradigm of the uses and gratifications (Katz et al., 1974). However, a majority of the uses and gratifications studies suggest that many media-related needs are consistent across cultures. As Greenberg pointed out, "We also doubt these motivations are peculiar to British children. We would expect to find the same kinds of categories in similar studies of American children, or of any children, for that matter" (1974: 89). However, such consistency may be a function of cultural proximity; these studies were conducted in Western countries or countries influenced by Western values and norms. Moreover, these studies were conducted in the participants' own home-country, and using the media content of that country. Similarity in media uses, as the results of this study indicate, then may not be the case when comparing Western and non-Western audiences or when examining uses of the mass media by individuals who are in an alien cultural context.

The results of the current study seem to be consistent with the suggestions offered by Roberts (1973) and Stroman and Becker (1978). Roberts, for example, has stated that, ".... Children from different cultures probably bring different experiences and expectations to the media, use them for different things, take different things from them. Moreover, media in other cultures may offer different things to children" (1973: 195). Therefore, there will remain the need for a continuous assessment of the individuals', particularly children's, motivations for using mass media in different cultural contexts. In the same

vein, motivation clusters proposed by Greenberg (1974) and Rubin (1977, 1979) need further cross-cultural validity.

Finally, this study successfully integrated the perspective of uses and gratifications with theories of acculturation to expound differences in the uses of television by children from different cultures. Definitely, more integrative research of this type is needed. One promising topic for the future research is a longitudinal ascertainment of changes in the individuals' media gratifications, both sought and obtained, vis-a-vis their stages of acculturation process.

Another related topic for the future research is an examination of the role television can play in the minority children's assimilation to American culture. For example, one can examine the Hispanic children's acculturation/socialization process and their uses of Hispanic television (e.g., Spanish Independent Network) and American television (e.g., ABC, CBS, or NBC Network). Understanding that Hispanic children, particularly those living in barrios, are taught in the Spanish language at school and speak Spanish at home, one should: (1) compare these children's uses of Hispanic television with their uses of American television, (2) ascertain the impact of such bilingual uses of television on their acculturation/socialization process, and (3) in line with this study, compare these children's and native American children's uses of American television.

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TABLE 1

Demographic Attributes of the Sample

	Native Americans n=276	Non-Native Americans n=83
Gender	%	%
Boy	53	52
Girl	47	48
Age		
Six	15	12
Seven	22	30
Eight	23	22
Nine	9	12
Ten	24	23
Eleven	6	1
Twelve	1	-
Grade		
1st	19	20
2nd	25	22
3rd	20	29
4th	8	11
5th	28	18

TABLE 2

Motivations for Watching Television

	Percent Responding '' I watch television because _____''									
	Native Americans n=276					Non-Native Americans n=83				
	A lot	A little	Not at all	M	SD	A lot	A little	Not at all	M	SD
Learning About Others										
I can get to know all about different people	46	29	25	2.20	.82	54	32	14	2.39*	.73
it teaches me things I don't learn at school	33	28	39	1.94	.85	44	28	28	2.16*	.84
Index				2.24	.68				2.46*	.63
Learning About One's Self										
it teaches me how to act when I am with friends	29	18	53	1.76	.88	52	19	28	2.25*	.87
I can learn from the mistakes of others	24	30	46	1.78	.81	48	22	30	2.17*	.87
Index				1.85	.75				2.27*	.79
Social Interaction										
it gives me something to talk about with my friends	44	32	24	2.21	.80	49	34	14	2.32	.75
it's something to do when friends come over	33	23	44	1.88	.87	41	25	34	2.07*	.87

*: t-Test, $p < .05$
Where: 1= Not at all 2= A little 3= A lot

Table 2 Continued

Percent Responding '' I watch television because _____''										
	Native Americans n=276					Non-Native Americans n=83				
	A lot	A little	Not at all	M	SD	A lot	A little	Not at all	M	SD
I can be with my family and friends who are watching	38	26	37	2.01	.86	45	21	34	2.10	.89
Index				2.06	.72				2.18	.72
Companionship										
it is almost like a friend	42	26	32	2.10	.86	50	20	30	2.21	.88
there is no one to talk to or play with	55	25	25	2.35	.80	21	21	58	2.39	.81
Index				2.40	.63				2.41	.69
Escape										
when I am alone it helps me forget that nobody is around	53	26	21	2.31	.80	54	18	28	2.26	.87
it helps me forget my problems	44	23	33	2.11	.88	40	32	28	2.12	.82
Index				2.38	.70				2.39	.77
Motives Index				2.15	.59				2.34*	.63

*: t-Test, $p < .05$
Where: 1 = Not at all 2 = A little 3 = A lot

TABLE 3
Liking of Television Programs

	Percent Responding "I like to watch ____"									
	Native Americans n=276					Non-Native Americans n=83				
	A lot	A little	Not at all	M	SD	A lot	A little	Not at all	M	SD
Educational-Informational										
Sesame Street	26	30	44	1.81	.82	51	27	22	2.29*	.81
Mister Roger's Neighborhood	24	25	51	1.73	.82	45	28	27	2.18*	.83
Amazing Animals	61	25	14	2.47	.73	66	20	14	2.52	.73
Hollywood Squares	14	24	62	1.51	.73	26	21	53	1.72*	.85
Family Feud	30	39	31	1.99	.78	51	28	21	2.29*	.80
Index				1.83	.66				2.05*	.62
Children's										
Leave It To Beaver	43	27	30	2.12	.85	41	27	32	2.09	.86
Brady Bunch	67	23	10	2.57	.67	79	14	7	2.73*	.58
Diff'rent Strokes	85	9	6	2.78	.55	69	16	15	2.54*	.74
Scubby Doo	73	21	6	2.66	.59	77	18	5	2.72	.55
Bugs Bunny/Road Runner	62	21	17	2.45	.76	71	24	5	2.66*	.57
Index				2.53	.52				2.55	.55

*: t-Test, p< .05
Where 1= Not at all 2= A little 3= A lot

Table 3 Continued

Percent Responding "I like to watch ____"										
	Native Americans n=276					Non-Native Americans n=83				
	A lot	A little	Not at all	M	SD	A lot	A little	Not at all	M	SD
Adventure										
CHiPs	60	27	13	2.47	.72	80	19	1	2.78*	.44
Rockford Files	20	30	50	1.69	.78	40	25	35	2.05*	.87
Dukes Of Hazzard	82	11	7	2.74	.58	86	10	4	2.82*	.48
The Incredible Hulk	57	25	18	2.38	.78	73	17	10	2.63*	.66
Gunsmoke	24	25	51	1.74	.83	36	28	36	2.00*	.86
Wild Wild West	42	19	39	2.04	.90	52	13	35	2.18*	.92
Index				2.25	.55				2.60	.49
Other										
Days of Our Lives	12	16	72	1.40	.69	10	22	68	1.41	.66
General Hospital	21	23	56	1.65	.81	16	33	51	1.66	.75
News	19	35	46	1.73	.76	22	37	41	1.81	.77
Movies	74	22	4	2.70	.55	67	23	10	2.57*	.67
Sanford and Son	43	30	27	2.16	.82	39	29	32	2.06*	.85
Happy Days	77	15	8	2.69	.61	73	19	8	2.64*	.63
Muppet Show	76	16	8	2.68	.61	72	18	10	2.61*	.67

*: t-Test, p< .05
Where 1= Not at all 2= A little 3= A lot

Table 3 Continued

	Percent Responding "I like to watch ____"									
	Native Americans n=276					Non-Native Americans n=83				
	A lot	A little	Not at all	M	SD	A lot	A little	Not at all	M	SD
Sha Na Na	57	21	22	2.35	.82	57	22	21	2.36	.81
PM Magazine	32	37	30	2.02	.79	42	25	33	2.09	.87
Solid Gold	50	22	28	2.23	.85	50	19	31	2.19	.89
American Band Stand	29	21	50	1.78	.86	34	25	41	1.92	.87
Basketball	48	22	30	2.19	.86	43	18	39	2.03	.91
Soccer Made In Germany	35	19	46	1.88	.89	48	15	37	2.11	.92
Index				2.14	.41				2.25 *	.53
Overall Liking Index				2.17	.43				2.39	.50

*: t-Test, p< .05
Where 1= Not at all 2= A little 3= A lot

TABLE 4

Patterns of Exposure to Television

	Percent Responding			
	Native Americans n=276		Non-Native Americans n=83	
Average daily hours of TV viewing before school				
None	77		77	
1/2 hour	12		31	
1 hour	5		1	
1 & 1/2 hours	1		-	
2 hours	1		4	
2 & 1/2 hours	1		1	
3 hours	2		4	
More than 3 hours	1		-	
Mean (Standard Deviation)	.50	(1.22)	.58	(1.44)
Average daily hours of TV viewing after school				
None	38		44	
1/2 hour	10		5	
1 hour	9		10	
1 & 1/2 hours	6		8	
2 hours	11		16	
2 & 1/2 hours	8		2	
3 hours	6		6	
More than 3 hours	12		9	
Mean (Standard Deviation)	2.49	(2.54)	2.22	(2.42)
Average nightly hours of TV viewing after supper				
None	36		43	
1/2 hour	8		10	
1 hour	14		13	
1 & 1/2 hours	6		5	
2 hours	8		11	
2 & 1/2 hours	7		7	
3 hours	11		5	
More than 3 hours	10		6	
Mean (Standard Deviation)	2.57	(2.54) *	2.01	(2.30)
Weekday Exposure Index				
Mean (Standard Deviation)	5.55	(5.18)	4.80	(4.70)

*: t-Test, $p < .05$

Where: 0= None 1= 1/2 Hour 2= 1 Hour
3= 1 & 1/2 Hours 4= 2 Hours 5= 2 & 1/2 Hours
6= 3 Hours 7= More than 3 Hours

Table 4 Continued

	Percent Responding	
	Native Americans n=276	Non-Native Americans n=83
Average hours of TV viewing on weekend mornings		
None	39	41
1/2 hour	5	2
1 hour	6	6
1 & 1/2 hours	3	4
2 hours	6	5
2 & 1/2 hours	4	2
3 hours	9	15
More than 3 hours	28	25
Mean (Standard Deviation)	3.17 (3.04)	3.20 (3.07)
Average hours of TV viewing on weekend afternoons		
None	43	44
1/2 hour	7	4
1 hour	8	7
1 & 1/2 hours	5	7
2 hours	6	13
2 & 1/2 hours	3	4
3 hours	9	7
More than 3 hours	19	14
Mean (Standard Deviation)	2.66 (2.85)	2.50 (2.66)
Weekend Exposure Index		
Mean (Standard Deviation)	5.85 (5.34)	5.71 (5.36)

Where: 0= None 1= 1/2 Hour 2= 1 Hour
3= 1 & 1/2 Hours 4= 2 Hours 5= 2 & 1/2 Hours
6= 3 Hours 7= More than 3 Hours

Table 4 Continued

	Percent Responding		
	Native Americans n=276		Non-Native Americans n=83
Exposure to TV yesterday			
Yes	83		93
No	17	**	7
Exposure to TV yesterday morning			
Yes	22		33
No	78		67
Hours of TV watched yesterday morning			
None	78		69
1/2 hour	5		1
1 hour	11		17
1 & 1/2 hours	2		6
2 hours	4		6
2 & 1/2 hours	-		-
3 hours	-		-
More than 3 hours	-		1
Mean (Standard Deviation)	.49 (1.05)	*	.85 (1.44)
Exposure to TV yesterday afternoon			
Yes	69		86
No	31	**	11

**: Chi-Square, p< .05
*: t-Test, p< .05

Where: 0= None 1= 1/2 Hour 2= 1 Hour
3= 1 & 1/2 Hours 4= 2 Hours 5= 2 & 1/2 Hours
6= 3 Hours 7= More than 3 Hours

Table 4 Continued

	Percent Responding			
	Native Americans n=276		Non-Native Americans n=83	
Hours of TV watched yesterday afternoon				
None	31		14	
1/2 hour	5		4	
1 hour	13		22	
1 & 1/2 hours	6		1	
2 hours	21		24	
2 & 1/2 hours	8		10	
3 hours	13		18	
More than 3 hours	3		7	
Mean (Standard Deviation)	2.69 (2.28)	*	3.54 (2.20)	
Exposure to TV last night after supper				
Yes	73		80	
No	27		20	
Hours of TV watched last night after supper				
None	29		21	
1/2 hour	3		2	
1 hour	21		37	
1 & 1/2 hours	7		2	
2 hours	13		16	
2 & 1/2 hours	2		1	
3 hours	13		10	
More than 3 hours	12		11	
Mean (Standard Deviation)	2.91 (2.50)		2.87 (2.27)	
Yesterday Exposure Index				
Mean (Standard Deviation)	6.09 (4.50)	*	7.26 (4.34)	

*: t-Test, $p < .05$

Where: 0= None 1= 1/2 Hour 2= 1 Hour
3= 1 & 1/2 Hours 4= 2 Hours 5= 2 & 1/2 Hours
6= 3 Hours 7= More than 3 Hours

TABLE 5
Identification with Television Characters and Events

Percent Responding "When I grow up I want to be like _____"										
	Native Americans n=276					Non-Native Americans n=83				
	A lot	A little	Not at all	M	SD	A lot	A little	Not at all	M	SD
Fred Sanford	9	10	81	1.27	.61	17	15	68	1.48*	.77
Buck Rogers	30	18	52	1.78	.88	47	14	39	2.09*	.93
Laverne (Laverene and Shirley)	21	20	59	1.62	.81	32	23	45	1.87*	.87
Gilligan	29	25	46	1.83	.85	30	28	42	1.87	.84
Fred Flintstone	18	17	65	1.54	.79	44	25	31	2.12*	.86
Janet (Three's Company)	28	18	54	1.73	.86	36	25	39	1.97*	.87
Bo (Dukes of Hazzard)	45	14	41	2.03	.93	58	13	29	2.28*	.90
the Incredible Hulk	37	13	50	1.88	.92	54	15	31	2.22*	.90
the Lone Ranger	35	16	49	1.85	.91	51	13	36	2.15*	.93
Wonder Woman	28	14	58	1.70	.88	46	15	39	2.06*	.92
Fonzie (Happy Days)	49	15	36	2.14	.91	54	9	37	2.16	.94
Tarzan (Tarzan of the Apes)	29	19	52	1.78	.87	52	18	30	2.22*	.88
Willis/Arnold Diff'rnt Strokes)	33	23	44	2.12	.87	34	30	36	1.98	.84
Identification Index				1.70	.60				1.92*	.59

*: t-Test, $p < .05$
Where 1= Not at all 2= A little 3= A lot

TABLE 6

Perceived Reality of Television

	Percent responding			
	Native Americans n=276		Non-Native Americans n=83	
People on TV are like the real life people				
A lot	23		35	
A little	46		38	
Not at all	31		27	
Mean (Standard Deviation)	1.91 (.73)	*	2.09 (.78)	
Places on TV are like the real life places				
A lot	30		33	
A little	47		48	
Not at all	23		19	
Mean (Standard Deviation)	2.08 (.72)		2.13 (.72)	
Children on TV are like the real life children				
A lot	33		48	
A little	37		28	
Not at all	30		24	
Mean (Standard Deviation)	2.02 (.79)	*	2.24 (.82)	
Animals on TV are like the real life animals				
A lot	44		49	
A little	30		34	
Not at all	26		17	
Mean (Standard Deviation)	2.17 (.82)		2.31 (.76)	
Things that happen to people on TV happen to people in my neighborhood				
A lot	21		38	
A little	38		34	
Not at all	41		28	
Mean (Standard Deviation)	1.80 (.76)	*	2.10 (.71)	
Perceived Reality Index				
Mean (Standard Deviation)	1.94 (.60)	*	2.19 (.68)	

*: t-Test, $p < .05$

Where 1= Not at all 2= A little 3= A lot